

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-10 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19

EB-11 AF-10 IO-13 RSR-01 /169 W
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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1160

INFO USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 17069

DEPT PASS USINT CAIRO

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR

SUBJECT: JOBERT FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT TO NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY -- ACCENT ON DEFENSE OF EUROPE

1. SUMMARY. FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT DREW SPECIAL
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ATTENTION JUNE 19 TO FRENCH CONCERN OVER DEFENSE OF EUROPE. HE EMPHASIZED GOF EFFORTS TO SHAPE A COHESIVE EC BUT NOTED ONGOING EC ECONOMIC DIVERGENCES AND " LACK OF AUTONOMY" IN DEFENSE MATTERS. HE STRESSED FRENCH WORRIES OVER US CALL FOR REAPPRAISAL OF ALLIANCE AND OVER US- USSR DECISIONS RE SALT AND MBFR. JOBERT PRAISED GROWTH OF DETENTE AND SPOKE, IN PARTICULAR, OF FRENCH TIES WITH SOVIETS, CHINESE, " ALL THE VIETNAMESE", AND THE MAGHREB NATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. JOBERT BEGAN HIS STATEMENT BY EMPHASIZING THAT " THE FIRST PRIORITY IS PEACE." HE NOTED FRANCE' S PAST CONTRIBUTIONS TO STRENGTHENING PEACE, STRESSED CONTINUING STRONG GOF DEFENSE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, AND COMMENDED OVERALL PROGRESS OF DETENTE IN THE WORLD -- AS REFLECTED IN CURRENT US/ USSR SUMMIT.

3. BY FAR, GREATEST PART OF JOBERT' S STATEMENT CONCERNED EC CONSTRUCTION AND PROBLEMS OF DEFENSE OF " EUROPE." REPEATEDLY QUESTIONING US INTENTIONS IN DECLARING 1973 THE " YEAR OF EUROPE," JOBERT MADE CLEAR THAT FRANCE PREFERS TO THINK OF 1980 AS " YEAR OF EUROPEAN UNION." STUBBORNLY DEFENDING FRENCH THESES ON BUILDING EC AND ITS RELATIONS WITH US, JOBERT REITERATED STANDARD FRENCH VIEWS ON CAP -- CALLING IT " THE FIRST CEMENT OF EUROPE." HE WARNED AGAINST ANY TENDENCY TO " LEAVE TO THE PLAINS OF THE (US) FAR WEST THE RESPONSIBILITY OF FEEDING EUROPE...", -- A DEVELOPMENT WHICH WOULD REPRESENT " AN INFINITELY DANGEROUS POLICY." JOBERT ARGUED THAT" EUROPE MUST EXIST ... AS A REAL WEIGHT IN ORDER THAT GLOBAL BALANCES (OF POWER) WILL NOT BE ESTABLISHED WITHOUT IT, THAT IS TO SAY, AGAINST IT." CREATION OF A EUROPEAN ENTITY, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE TANTAMOUNT TO CUTTING EUROPE OFF FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD. IT IS " IN THIS PERSPECTIVE" THAT ONE MUST VIEW FORTHCOMING " BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS" BETWEEN THE US AND THE NINE, WHICH HOPEFULLY WILL CLARIFY THEIR OWN INTERESTS BY END OF SUMMER IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A CLEAR RESPONSE TO THE MESSAGES OF DR. KISSINGER AND PRESIDENT NIXON RE THE YEAR OF EUROPE. JOBERT POINTEDLY ADDED IN SECTION CRITICIZING US MONETARY POLICIES (SEPTTEL): " THE ANALYSIS THAT I AM

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MAKING IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, OF WHICH FRANCE IS THE OLDEST AND MOST FAITHFUL ALLY."

4. JOBERT DREW SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DIFFICULTIES FRANCE SEES IN FUTURE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. HE DREW A PICTURE OF A DIVIDED AND INCHOATE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, SAYING

" FRANCE APART, EUROPE DOES NOT PRESENTLY HAVE, IN DEFENSE MATTERS, ITS OWN AUTONOMY." ACKNOWLEDGING THAT EUROPE DEPENDS ON US FOR ITS " PROTECTION", HE SAW VITAL DECISIONS AFFECTING SECURITY INTERESTS OF " EUROPE" BEING NEGOTIATED BY US AND USSR SUPERPOWERS, PARTICULARLY IN SALT AND MBFR. HE ASSERTED FRANCE REMAINS OUTSIDE MBFR, FIRST OF ALL BECAUSE " SHE DOES NOT WISH TO SEE CREATED IN EUROPE, ALREADY SO DIVIDED, A ZONE (IN CENTRAL EUROPE) WITH A SPECIAL STATUTE WHICH WOULD IN ITSELF BE A NEW FACTOR OF DIVISION." UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, JOBERT SAW VINDICATION OF DE GAULLE' S CONSTRUCTION OF FORCE DE FRAPPE, AND TAKES TO TASK CRITICS OF FRENCH NUCLEAR TESTS.

5. ON EAST- WEST DEVELOPMENTS, JOBERT APPLAUDED PROGRESS OF DETENTE AND TOOK CREDIT FOR FRENCH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THAT PROGRESS, CITING PARTICULARLY " FRENCH- SOVIET DIALOGUE" WHICH HE NOTED HAS NOT CEASED " FOR TEN YEARS TO DEEPEN, ENLARGE, AND DIVERSIFY." JOBERT BRIEFLY ALLUDED TO COMING JUNE 25-27 VISIT OF BREZHNEV TO PARIS AS EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING FRANCO- SOVIET TIES. HE ALSO REFERRED TO ON- GOING FRENCH DIALOGUE WITH ALL EE COUNTRIES. NO DOUBT WITH AN EYE ON POMPIDOU' S SCHEDULED VISIT TO PEKING, JOBERT SPOKE OF " EMINENT PLACE" OF CHINA IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY: " WE WOULD LIKE TO DEVELOP USEFUL TIES WITH IT (CHINA) AND BETWEEN IT AND EUROPE AND MOVE FORWARD TO A STAGE, IN WHICH OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS ARE REINFORCED BY PRECISE ACTIONS IN THE MOST VARIED DOMAINS." ON VIETNAM, JOBERT HOPED RECENTLY CONCLUDED ACCORDS WOULD BE APPLIED " CORRECTLY" AND STATED THAT " FRANCE INTENDS TO REMAIN THE FRIEND OF ALL VIETNAMESE."

6. SURVEYING FRENCH RELATIONS WITH AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST, JOBERT GAVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE MAGHREB, CONFIDENTIAL

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NOTING HIS RECENT VISIT TO MOROCCO, FORTHCOMING VISIT TO FRANCE OF ALGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER JULY 9-11, AND " INTIMATE" TIES WITH TUNISIA.

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED CAIRO.

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 NEA-10 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01

PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19

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P 211151 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1161

INFO USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PARIS 17069

DEPT PASS USINT CAIRO

HE THOUGHT CONDITIONS EXISTED FOR BREAKING THROUGH
ARAB- ISRAELI IMPASSE, STRESSED THE RIGHT OF EACH STATE
" TO LIVE IN PEACE BEHIND SURE AND RECOGNIZED BORDERS,"
BUT DEPLORED DESULTORY RESULTS THUS FAR IN UN SECURITY
COUNCIL DEBATE. WELL- INFORMED ISRAELI JOURNALIST TELLS US
QUAI OFFICERS POINT OUT TO HIM THAT JOBERT AVOIDED EXPLICIT
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MENTION OF EITHER ARABS OR ISRAELIS. ISRAELI JOURNALIST
CONSIDERS JOBERT PASSAGES ON MIDDLE EAST MORE STRAIGHT-
FORWARD AND LESS DOCTRINAIRE THAN SIMILAR REMARKS BY
SCHUMANN IN THE PAST.

7. COMMENT: JOBERT' S EMPHASIS ON EUROPEAN DEFENSE AND ROLE OF FRANCE' S NUCLEAR FORCE THERIN CAN BE READ AS:

A. FIRST HINT OF POSSIBLE SHIFT IN FRENCH POLICY AWAY FROM PREFERENCE FOR STATUS QUO IN ALLIANCE DEFENSE AREA BASED ON " SIGNIFICANT" US PRESENCE, AND TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT OF SOME FORM OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENT;

B. A BIEF FOR MAINTAINING INDEPENDENT FRANCH NUCLEAR FORCE AND STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT IN FACE OF GROWING DOMESTIC CRITICISM;

C. RECOGNITION THAT 1) EUROPEANS STILL NEED US COMMITMENT WHICH THEY SEE AS BECOMING LESS CERTAIN BUT 2) ARE STILL UNABLE AGREE ON DEVELOPING A EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY AND THUS 3) REMAIN UNDER PRESSURE TO REACH " GLOBAL" ACCOMMODATIONS WITH US.

8. IN ANY EVENT, JOBERT OFFERS NO PRESCRIPTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS. MOREOVER, CONTINUED EMPHASIS ON FRENCH NATIONAL DEFENSE UNDERSCORES ONCE AGAIN FRANCE' S INABILITY TO BRIDGE THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN ITS STATED DESIRE FOR A STRONG, UNITED AND " INDEPENDENT " EUROPE AND ITS UNWILLINGNESS GIVE UP TO SUCH A EUROPE THE REQUIRED DEGREE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. WHETHER FRANCE, BURDENED BY THIS CONTRADICTION, CAN RALLY OTHER EUROPEAN NATIONS TO ITS SIDE REMAINS HIGHLY UNCERTAIN.
IRWIN

NOTE BY OCT: NOT PASSED CAIRO.

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